# WORKS IN PROGRESS

VOLUME 15, NUMBER 11 | THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION | MARCH 2005


# April 13: Join the International Day of Action Against Caterpillar

**by Rochelle Gause**

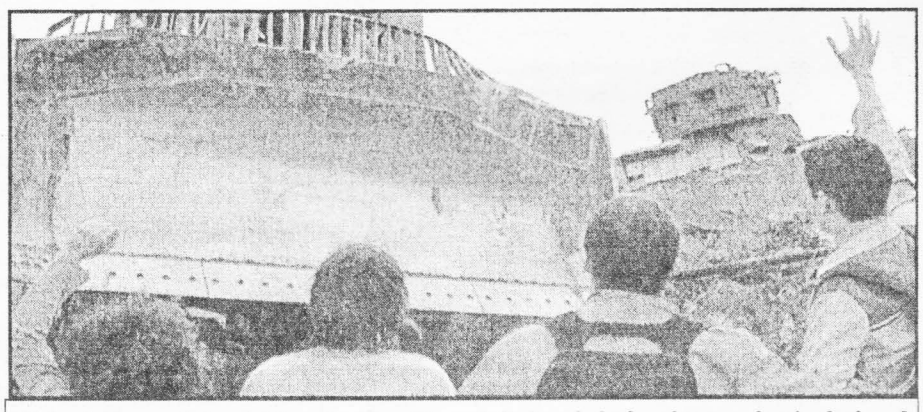
*"We stand in the path of the bulldozers and are physically pushed with the shovels backwards. The bulldozers then proceeded on their*

Rachel Corrie

*course, demolishing one side of the houses with the protesters inside. The drivers sometimes drop a sound grenade out of the cab of the bulldozer, and continue to demolish the houses, at which point the activists are able to escape, amid gunfire from the tanks. We can only imagine what it is like for Palestinians living here, most of them once-or-twice refugees already, for whom this is not a nightmare, but a continuous reality from which international privilege cannot protect them, and from which they have no economic means to escape."*

~ Olympia resident, Rachel Corrie, while in the Occupied Palestinian Territories in 2003.

On March 16th 2003, a Caterpillar D9 bulldozer, like the one described above, crushed Rachel Corrie as she attempted to defend the home of a Palestinian family from demolition by the Israeli military. According to the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions, more than 12,000 homes have been demolished throughout the Occupied Territories since 1967 - leaving 50,000 Palestinians homeless. Caterpillar bulldozers have been used to destroy greenhouses and uproot 385,000 olive trees. Last May, wanting to get a better understanding of the situation and what happened to my friend, Rachel, I traveled to Rafah and witnessed the vast wasteland of demolished homes near the border. Children were flying kites made out of scavenged plastic in the Philadelphi Corridor, a strip of land between, Rafah, on the border of Gaza, and Egypt that the Israeli government has been in the process of structurally and ethnically cleansing since the beginning of the Second Palestinian Intifada in 2000.


**This photo was taken in Gaza by Tom Hurndall shortly before he was shot in the head by an Israeli sniper. He was shot as he attempted to escort children away from the sniper's bullets. After nine months in a coma, Tom died on January 13, 2004.**

Just weeks after I left, the Israeli forces began "Operation Rainbow," a large incursion into Rafah in which D9s were used to create 4,000 new homeless Palestinians, indiscriminately tearing up roads, destroying water and sewage networks, and creating a public health risk in an already vulnerable community. According to Human Rights Watch, "In some areas, water shortages forced residents to leave their homes in search of water, putting them at risk of being shot by IDF snipers for breaking curfew. In total, the IDF destroyed fifty-one percent of Rafah's roads, usually by dragging a blade known as the "ripper" from the back of the D9 down the middle of the road." The home demolitions occur most often at night without warning, preventing the families from gathering their belongings. There seems to be no end in sight. Last month the Israeli army proposed a plan to the Attorney General to construct a moat in the Philadelphi Corridor, which will involve demolishing between 200 and 3,000 additional homes.

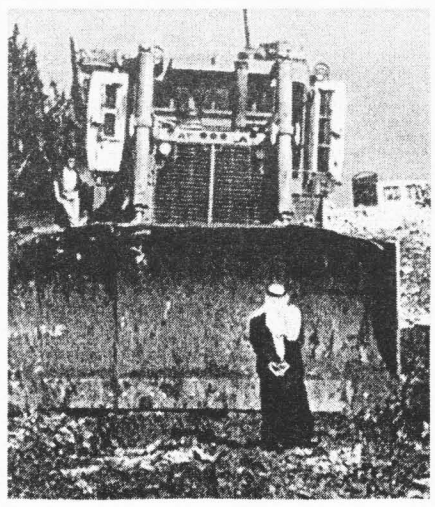
The Caterpillar Corporation claims that, "With regard to Israel, sales between Caterpillar and the U.S. government are openly conducted through the U.S. Foreign Military Sales Program." Our government purchases Caterpillar bulldozers and sends them to Israel as part of our annual foreign military assistance package. Such sales are governed by the U.S. Arms Export Control Act (Public Law 90-829), which limits the use of U.S. military aid to "internal security" and "legitimate self-defense" and prohibits its use against civilians. The home demolitions are illegal under international law, including the Fourth Geneva Convention and the Hague Conventions of 1907.

Recognizing the role the Caterpillar Corporation is playing in grave abuses of human rights and humanitarian law, an International Day of Action Against Caterpillar has been called on April 13, 2005, by Jewish Voice for Peace and SUSTAIN (Stop U.S. Tax-Funded Aid to Israel Now). On that day, the shareholders of the Caterpillar Corporation will be meeting and discussing a resolution addressing the sale of bulldozers to the Israeli Military brought forward by Jewish Voice for Peace.

***Our government purchases Caterpillar bulldozers and sends them to Israel as part of our annual foreign military assistance package. ... Multiple human rights groups and the UN have made clear statements connecting Caterpillar with the illegal occupation of Palestine.***

Over the past year momentum has been growing. Multiple human rights *groups and the UN have made clear statements connecting Caterpillar with*

*("Caterpillar" continued on page 6)*



# Wildcat Strike at Pizza Time

**by Melissa Roberts**

All nine employees of the Pizza Time franchise in downtown Olympia went on strike February 12th, to protest the restaurant's hostile working environment under new ownership. The situation began on February 8th, when workers were surpised with the sudden introduction of a new owner. With the new owner came a litany of arbitrary, discriminatory and unprofessional policies which included firings for unjust cause, racial slurs, health violations and procedures which ensured poor product quality. The new atmosphere has left an indelible mark on the workers—a group responsible for establishing a remarkably cooperative working environment in today's under-paid service sector. Their response to the changes was unanimous—present a list of reasonable demands to the owner, and strike if they were not met.

When new owner, Shane Bloking, arrived at the franchise, he changed the locks, denied legal breaks, fired two workers, and hired his brother. The workers he fired, Abara and John, both had years of experience, and one was a long-time member of the Pizza Time workforce. Shane's brother, Jeff, had no experience, and his erratic and hostile verbal style permeated the flavor of the working environment. In response to workers' questions about the firings, the owner's racial slurs suggest discrimination might be the true reason he "didn't like" one of the workers. As an "at will" state, Washington workers can be fired for many reasons (or no reason at all), but discrimination is still an exception.

The firings are part of an overall climate of intimidation brought by the new owner. Pizza maker, Burke Kenny, was called in to work early one day, and was denied his 10-minute break after four hours of work. The workers' attempts to explain procedures to the owner's brother, Jeff, are routinely ignored—and sanitation, safety, and product quality visibly suffer. Customers are not the only ones unhappy with a sub-standard and burnt product, as the workers' pride in their work is one of their reasons for taking to the streets. Even Pizza Time Manager, Alex Wentz, is an active striker who supports the demands. The strike began the day Jeff opened the store in place of the regularly scheduled worker who had been fired. When drivers arrived to work at 11am, they found the door locked. Jeff arrived five hours late.

*("Pizza Time strike" cont. on page 4)*

# WORKS IN PROGRESS

*Works In Progress* is a free, volunteer operated progressive community newspaper based in Olympia, WA. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Workers In Progress and are solely those of the authors.

**Submissions:**

Please send text as Word attachments. Artwork and photos can be sent electronically or we can scan them for you as camera-ready/black & white.

WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions. For editing purposes, please enclose your phone number.

Articles may be reprinted. Please cite source.

***If you don't see your issue being covered in Works In Progress, it's because you aren't writing about it! (Or aren't finding someone else to cover it!)***

Send submissions to ***wip@zhonka.net*** or mail to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507-0295.

**Governing Tool:**

The following statement is part of the Editorial Policy and is the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause:

*WIP will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by WIP to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but WIP reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.*

## WORKERS IN PROGRESS

| | |
|---|---|
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| Chelsea Chase | Sandy Mayes |
| Sebastian Chase | hali panneton |
| Renee Cruickshank | Megan Selvage |
| Christian DesMarets | Sylvia Smith |
| DrewHendricks | Jeff Sowers |
| Teresa Jennings | Pat Tassoni |

**Mission Statement:**

"Our aim is to confront injustice and encourage a participatory democracy based on economic, social, and environmental justice. Works In Progress is dedicated to providing a voice for those most affected by the exclusionary and unfair practices that seek to silence the oppressed."

**Anti-Discrimination Clause:**

We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

**Back Issues:**

Get your catalog of indexed WIPs below. Some back issues are available in the Timberland Library system. WIP is being archived on microfilm by the UW Library.


**About the cover:** Rachel Corrie was crushed to death by a D9 Caterpillar bulldozer as she attempted to defend the home of the Nasrallah family against demolition. *See page one for related article.*


**WIP Schedule**

**Submission Deadline:**

**March 25**

PO Box 295, Olympia WA 98507

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## Announcements, etc.

### Waterwise Gardening Classes

Learn to grow a beautiful lawn and garden while protecting and conserving our precious drinking water.

*All classes will take place at the Worthington Center, St. Martin's College, 5300 Pacific Avenue, Lacey. Book signings will take place after each class. Classes cost $5, and will run from 7-9 p.m. Pre-registration is required. Call 753-8380 to register.*

**Thursday, March 3:**
**Under the Olympia Sun**

*Waterwise Gardening Inspired by Tuscany*

Marianne Binetti, (gardening columnist for *The Olympian*, author of many gardening books, and a radio and TV personality), has just returned from Italy! She will teach you how to bring a "taste" of the Mediterranean into your garden by sharing what she's learned about best plant materials and classical garden design.

**Tuesday, March 8:**
**Fabulous Flowers Without Wasting Water**

Marty Wingate *(Seattle Post – Intelligencer* gardening columnist, author and lecturer), will teach you how to design, plant and maintain a beautiful, colorful, waterwise perennial garden.

**Tuesday, March 15:**
**Waterwise lawns and Lawn Alternatives**

Stop fighting Mother Nature, and put her to work for you! Marianne Binetti will teach you how to redesign your lawn to save money and time, as well as our water resources.

### Olympia Rolls Out the Rain Barrels

Rain barrels are back by popular demand. The City of Olympia will hold a rain barrel sale on Saturday, April 30, 2005 at 10:00 a.m. on the corner of Thurston Avenue and Jefferson Street in downtown Olympia.

Over 300 gallons of water drains from the average roof during just one half inch of rainfall. Rain barrels are a great way to store some of that water for later use on small gardens and potted plants.

The 50-gallon plastic barrels are fitted with brass spigots and screened water inlets. The price per barrel is $20, tax included, with a limit of 3 per customer. Downspout diverters, which direct water out of your downspout and into your rain barrel, will be sold for $10 apiece. The diverters are made to fit standard, rectangular metal downspouts.

The sale is open to water customers of the City of Olympia only. Supplies are very limited. *Call (360) 753-8271 today to reserve a rain barrel.*


TELL OUR ADVERTISERS THAT YOU SAW THEIR AD IN *WORKS IN PROGRESS*

*AND GET OTHER FRIENDLY BUSINESSES TO ADVERTISE!*


### The Rev. Labib Kobti to speak at a free community meeting at St. John's Episcopal Church, Olympia, at 7:00 Wednesday evening, March 2.

A native of Lebanon, Father Kobti, an internationally-known spokesperson for peace and justice in Palestine and Israel, serves under the Latin (Roman Catholic) Patriarchate of Jerusalem. He has held several posts in the Middle East and, since 1992, as a missioner to Arab-Americans in California, returning to Jerusalem annually.

In 1994 he created an award-winning website, www.Al-Bushra.org, which promotes human rights issues in the Middle East. Previously he founded a magazine of the same name.

His appearance is being co-sponsored by the Rachel Corrie Foundation for Peace and Justice, the Olympia - Rafah Sister City Project and Veterans for Peace - Rachel Corrie Chapter 109.

### Forum To Save Social Security

**Tuesday, March 1st**
**7:00 to 9:00pm**
**Olympia Center - Room A**

Promoting Progressive Reform and Fiscal Reality. Speakers and small groups will discuss:

-How the existing Social Security system works.

-What the Bush Administration is really proposing.

-Social Security is Solvent - Critiques of the proposals for privatization.

-Bush's Social Security 'Crisis' rhetoric and how to avoid the pitfalls of debate.

-Alternatives to the Bush Proposal.

-What We Can Do to Stop the Privatization of Social Security.

Celebrating Peacemakers & Opposing Occupation

*Remembering Rachel Corrie*

**Wednesday, March 16**
**6 – 8 pm**
**Location to be announced**

Join us for music, speakers, poetry, and a candle-lit march and more as we recognize the inspirational work of those who struggle for justice and peace.

Please bring finger food or dessert to share with others.

**Sponsored by the Olympia-Rafah Sister City Project.**
**www.orscp.org**

*For more information call 556-4673.*

# MARCH 2005

While many secularists view the world as overpopulated, Christians know that God has made the earth sufficiently large, with plenty of resources to accommodate all the people He knew would come into existence. All the 5 billion people on the earth could live in the state of Texas in single-family homes with front and back yards and be fed by production in the rest of the United States.

# The Christian Right Cult in a nutshell

**If one is not with *true believers*, one is aligned with Lucifer.**

- The world is in a giant struggle between good and evil culminating in a final confrontation.
- Human will cannot change the course of history; the "righteous" must play out preordained roles
- Sinister secular humanism is a great evil threatening to destroy America and the world
- Those not born-again (including Catholics) lack protection of Christ and are vulnerable to Satan
- It's God's plan that His chosen take dominion over governments until Christ returns
- Church-state separation is a deception of Satan
- The United States is the "first truly Christian nation"; its purpose is to make all nations Christian
- The only biblically allowable taxations are poll tax (flat tax), and tithing to a church
- Government-run Social Security and welfare agencies take people away from God
- "Leave No Child Behind" refers to God taking the world's children (of all religions) in the Rapture
- Abolish the US Department of Education; churches will take over operation of public schools
- A Christian's primary responsibility is to create material wealth; God provides the natural resources
- In the Tribulation, seas/rivers will turn to blood; on land, everything/nonbelievers will be burned
- Christian fundamentalism embraces the Gospels of Jesus; the Christian Right rarely refers to them
- It's difficult to reason with the Christian Right; one may be viewed as sitting on Satan's shoulder

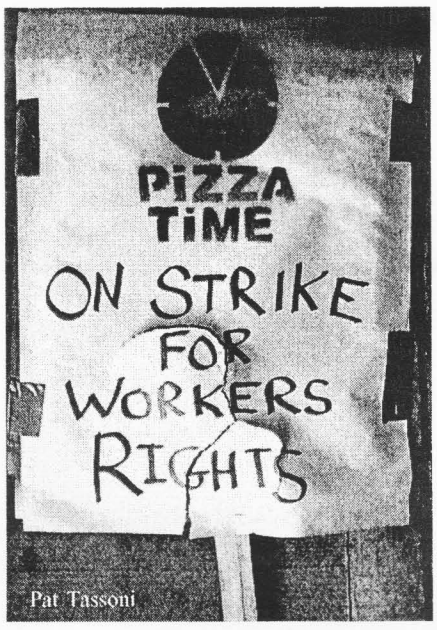
**Check out www.theocracywatch.org**

M. A. Beliles and S. K. McDowell, America's Providential History.

| Sunday | Monday | Tuesday | Wednesday | Thursday | Friday | Saturday |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I'm going to come out strong after my swearing in with fundamental tax reform, tort reform, privatizing of Social Security. -- G.W. Bush | | **1**<br>**2003**: Pope sends envoy to convince Bush not to invade Iraq<br>**2004**: Aristide tells AP that the US forced him to leave Haiti | **2**<br>**2004**: Multnomah Co OR begins issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples<br>**2004**: WA Senate approves Top 2 primary | **3**<br>**1991**: LA cops beat Rodney King.<br>**2004**: Governor Gary Locke says he favors civil union, but not marriage | **4**<br>**1930**: Coolidge dam swamps Indian lands.<br>**2004**: War stops thousands of beating hearts billboard newly displayed on Harrison | **5**<br>**1891**: Phoenix offers $200 bounty for dead Indians<br>**2004**: Martha Stewart is found guilty on all charges |
| **6**<br>**1999**: Spokane: cops put down Teamster rally supporting striking steelworers at a Kaiser Aluminum plant, 3 arrested | **7**<br>**2004**: Human Rights Watch charges US troops of using excessive force during arrests and in detention in Afghanistan | **8**<br>**2004**: Top 2 primary passes in WA House<br>**2004**: Haiti's interim president take office as US marines patrol the streets | **9**<br>**2004**: Eyman files slot machine initiative<br>**2004**: Tenet: Bush didn't lie about WMDs<br>**2004**: US poll: majority favors civil unions | **10**<br>**2004**: WA legislature oks charter school bill<br>**2004**: Britain releases 4 Brits formally held at Guantanamo Bay as terrorist suspects | **11**<br>**2004**: Defense official reports a nuclear armed ballistic missile was damaged as it was removed from submarine at Bangor | **12**<br>**2003**: Judge rules a NJ lesbian couple will both be on the birth certificate of a baby they are expecting in May |
| **13**<br>**2003**: LOTT/Miller: LOTT doesn't have to pay Miller $8 million; Miller doesn't have pay improvement costs over last 20 years | **14**<br>**1999**: Justice Dept announces that 1.8 million are incarcerated, 668 per 100,000, second only to Russian's 685 per 100,000 | **15**<br>**1749**: England grants land in OH valley.<br>**2004**:Spain's new prime minister vows to bring Spanish troops in Iraq home | **16**<br>**2003**: Cheney, Powell say it is too late for Iraq to disarm, too late for further weapons inspections, too late formore diplomacy | **17**<br>**2004**: Sen T Sheldon lead Demos for Bush<br>**2004**: Census Bureau reports United States will be half minorities by 2050 | **18**<br>**2003**: Anti-government protest food shortages/repression in Zimbabwe shut down businesses, disrupted transportation | **19**<br>**1999**: Clinton: "young people will learn presidents have to [be truthful], there are consequences when you don't" |
| **20**<br>**1995**: Nurses at Group Health Cooperative vote to go on one-day strike to protest the company's current contract offer | **21**<br>**2003**: US launches air assault on Baghdad<br>**2003**: Pew Research Center poll shows 71% think Iraq conflict going well | **22**<br>**2003**:US troops halfway to Baghdad<br>**2003**: 3 more US missile hit Iran<br>**2003**: TESC holds service for Rachel Corrie | **23**<br>**1942**: Pacific coast Japanese-Americans are moved from their homes to internment camps in inland communites | **24**<br>**2003**: For first time the Shoshone are performed rites for ancestors killed in the Bear River Massacre in 1863 | **25**<br>**1998**: Ellen Craswell switches to American Heritage Party<br>**2003**: US military bombs Iraqi Satellite TV off the air | **26**<br>**1999**: Dr Kevorkian is convicted of 2nd degree murder in MI<br>**2003**: Kofi Anna is concerned for Iraqi civilian casualties |
| **27**<br>**2000**: Locked-out Kaiser Aluminum workers camp at Capitol<br>**2000**: Hanford radiation could reach Columbia in 3 years | **28**<br>**1979**: Three Mile Island accident<br>**2003**: Military push to Baghdad delayed due to supply shortages and Iraqi resistance | **29**<br>**1961**: 23rd Amendment permis citizens of the DC to vote<br>**2003**: Antiwar protests continue around the globe | **30**<br>**1996**: Lowry vetoes ban on death row inmate organ transplants as unconstitutional<br>**2000**: Elian's father applies for US visa | **31**<br>**1904**: India: british kill 100s of Tibetans<br>**2003**: Bush warns terrorist may attack US in retaliation for US invasion of Iraq | Why do you call me Lord, Lord, and never do what I tell you?<br>Jesus [Luke 6:46] | |

# Pizza Time Strike

*(Continued from page one)*



Pat Tassoni

The picket line includes pizza makers, delivery drivers and community supporters. The Pizza Time workers have no history of protest or direct action, and

***The new owner's response to the strike is as erratic as his business practices.***

are new to workplace organizing. But fighting for their rights comes naturally to this dedicated bunch. The picket line has had a constant and visible presence and enjoyed wide community support daily, from noon to 10pm, since the strike began on Saturday night. Located on a busy downtown street, drivers honk their support and foot passengers eagerly stop for leaflets about the strike.

The new owner's response to the strike is as erratic as his business practices. The first day of the strike, Bloking closed the store. On the second day, the brothers tried to operate the franchise bythemselves. The strike's wide community support suggests they could handle the workload only because business had significantly dropped. But by the day's end, Jeff Bloking told strikers that his brother had decided to stop making payments and exit the buyout contract with former Pizza Time owner and landlord,Richard Kelley. Workers were reluctant to believe their good fortune without written confirmation, so they remained on the line. On the third day, striking workers were told they were fired. The situation will be clarified when former owner, Richard Kelley, returns to Olympia on February 17th.

In the meantime, striking workers are holding the line. They have even successfully persuaded workers hired to replace them (a.k.a. scabs) from crossing the picket line. Five of the Pizza Time Workers have joined the IWW, and all have inadvertently become vocal spokespersons for workers' rights because of the situation. In a post-strike meeting, workers decided to file for an NLRB election for union certification. They agreed to represent themselves and decided to form their own labor organization - Olympia Workers' Association - for filing purposes.

*How you can help:*

- *Join the picket line at 112 Jefferson Street (between 4th and State) in Olympia.*
- *Call Pizza Time and tell them you support the Pizza Time Workers (360) 956-9020.*
- *Go to the Media Island website, mediaisland.org , to stay informed directly by the striking workers themselves.*

# Pizza Time Strike *Update*

**by Drew Hendricks**

The strike was not over, but Pizza Time's employees were absent from the picket line over the weekend of February 18th. Pizza Time at Old Towne's owner, Richard J Kelley, arrived downtown Friday at 9pm to find that his partner Shane Bloking had locked the doors at 6pm and disappeared. When Mr Kelley arrived, the "open" sign was still brightly lit and phone calls were being answered by a message that the phone line's mailbox was not properly configured. The doors to the store were locked.

The store remained closed for the weekend and Monday the 21st, so the striking employees decided to suspend the picket line as long as the door remained locked. Negotiations were ongoing as of press time.

"If they open the place and we're not in there, we'll be out picketing"said Joe, one of the striking delivery drivers.

The strikers have a scheduled hearing before the National Labor Relations Board on March 1st.

"What happens with that will probably set the tone for what happens with this. If negotiations (with Mr Kelley and Mr Bloking) continue, maybe we'll be back in there as workers" said Joe, who added that the workers "would definitely do a cooperative" if negotiations broke down again.

The strike began Saturday, February 12th as Shane Bloking broke off negotiations with the statement "What I should have done, is I should have fired everyone..."

Bloking had also refused to hire back one of the two workers he fired without reasonable cause, and refused to fire his brother Jeff. Striking employees complained that Shane's erratic management and Jeff's incompetence on the job forced them to take action to protect their jobs.

photo by Pat Tassoni

**"If they open the place and we're not in there, we'll be out picketing," said Joe, one of the striking delivery drivers.**

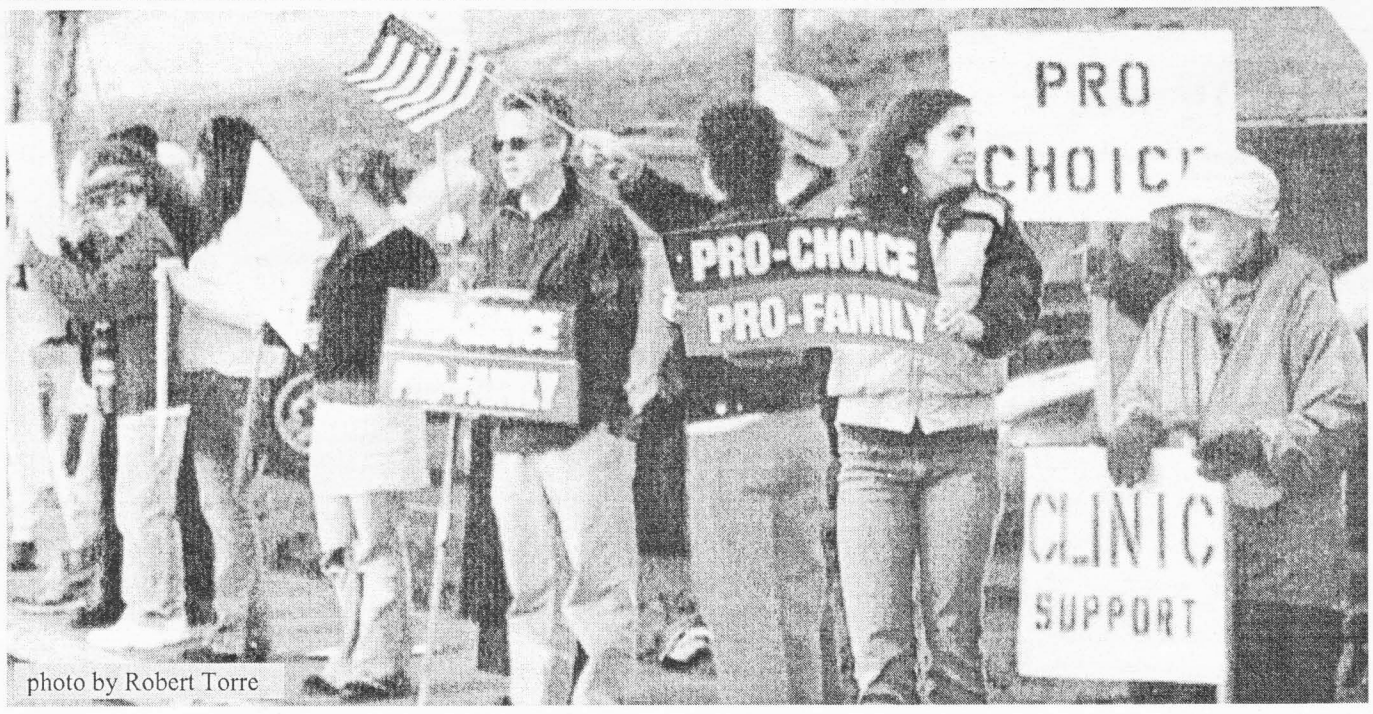


photo by Robert Torre

## Photo above:

### Arson at Women's Clinic

Local citizens demonstrate support for the Eastside Women's Clinic after a fire in January which local and federal investigators have determined was set intentionally. No arrests have been made thus far.

**BEFORE YOU FORGET, SUBSCRIBE! SEE PAGE 2**

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# Free Radio Olympia Changes Frequency to 98.5 FM on March 1

**by dj megawatti**

Free Radio Olympia is changing our frequency again. We are moving to 98.5 FM on March 1, 2005. This is not the first time we have had to move, and it will probably not be the last. Current FCC licensing activity is poised to pack the cracks and crevices of Olympia's dial with translator signals, rebroadcasting other radio stations, often from out of town.

Our brief sojourn on 101.9, which began in October 2004, is ending because our first adjacent neighbor on 102.1, KSWW in Gray's Harbor, has complained that we are interfering with their signal. Once again, FRO is not interfering with this station within its protected contour, the reach of its signal guaranteed by its license. We are broadcasting with low power well outside of KSWW's target listening area. However, had this station not received satisfaction from FRO, its management would have resorted to filing a complaint with the Federal Communications Commission, increasing the (everpresent) risk of FRO being forced of the air by law enforcement action. KSWW (Sunny 102) did not desire FRO's demise, only that we vacate its first adjacent. KSWW management brought its complaint directly to FRO, a show of good faith we have decided to return in kind by complying its wish.

There are no frequencies on the dial in Olympia on which FRO can broadcast without the risk of stepping on someone's toes. The remaining low-power translator channels are soon to be populated by the likes of the University of Washington, the Northwest Rock and Roll Preservation Society, and Calvary Chapel of Twin Falls. As an unlicensed micro-power radio station, FRO is being forced into a corner, and ultimately there will be nowhere left for us to go on the dial. We are not making our stand on 101.9, but there will come a time, sooner or later, when we will be forced to make a stand, to defend our right to broadcast under the first amendment, which guarantees freedom of speech and of the press. When that time comes FRO will need all the community support we can get. We must be building that support now.

***As an unlicensed micro-power radio station, FRO is being forced into a corner, and ultimately there will be nowhere left for us to go on the dial. ... There will come a time, sooner or later, when we will be forced to make a stand***

Free Radio Olympia is an unlicensed, direct action micropower radio station currently (until March 1) broadcasting at 100 watts on 101.9 FM in Olympia, Washington. We have been on the air since March 2001. FRO is committed to providing a service to the community by creating access to the airwaves and bringing unregulated, uncensored media to our listeners. In order for radio to be used effectively as a tool by the community, we feel that community participation is necessary. Free microradio offers the community a means for outreach to communicate, organize, and unify.

*To join our network of support, to become a dj on Free Radio Olympia, or for more information please email fro@riseup.net. You may call the FRO studio at (360)705-9780. Visit FRO on the web at www.frolympia.org, and send us snail mail at FRO, P.O. Box 6024, Olympia, WA 98507. FRO receives donations of media, money, and equipment at Last Word Books, 211 4th Ave., Olympia. To receive announcements and alerts concerning FRO and to join our list of supporters, please subscribe to our email newsletter by sending an email to fro-subscribe@lists.riseup.net. FRO appreciates the support we receive from our community in Olympia and listeners worldwide.*

# Getting the Purple Finger

**by Naomi Klein**

"The Iraqi people gave America the biggest 'thank you' in the best way we could have hoped for." Reading this election analysis from Betsy Hart, a columnist for the Scripps Howard News Service, I found myself thinking about my late grandmother. Half blind and a menace behind the wheel of her Chevrolet, she adamantly refused to surrender her car keys. She was convinced that everywhere she drove (flattening the house pets of Philadelphia along the way) people were waving and smiling at her. "They are so friendly!" We had to break the bad news. "They aren't waving with their whole hand, Grandma—just with their middle finger."

So it is with Betsy Hart and the other near-sighted election observers: They think the Iraqi people have finally sent America those long-awaited flowers and candies, when Iraq's voters just gave them the (purple) finger.

The election results are in: Iraqis voted overwhelmingly to throw out the US-installed government of Iyad Allawi, who refused to ask the United States to leave. A decisive majority voted for the United Iraqi Alliance; the second plank in the UIA platform calls for "a timetable for the withdrawal of the multinational forces from Iraq."

There are more single-digit messages embedded in the winning coalition's platform. Some highlights: "Adopting a social security system under which the state guarantees a job for every fit Iraqi...and offers facilities to citizens to build homes." The UIA also pledges "to write off Iraq's debts, cancel reparations and use the oil wealth for economic development projects." In short, Iraqis voted to repudiate the radical free-market policies imposed by former chief US envoy Paul Bremer and locked in by a recent agreement with the International Monetary Fund.

***It turns out that on American TV, the entire occupation has been one long episode of* Fear Factor, *in which Iraqis overcome ever-more-challenging obstacles to demonstrate the depths of their desire to win their country back.***

So will the people who got all choked up watching Iraqis flock to the polls support these democratically chosen demands? Please. "You don't set timetables," George W. Bush said four days after Iraqis voted for exactly that. Likewise, British Prime Minister Tony Blair called the elections "magnificent" but dismissed a firm timetable out of hand. The UIA's pledges to expand the public sector, keep the oil and drop the debt will likely suffer similar fates. At least if Adel Abd al-Mahdi gets his way—he's Iraq's finance minister and the man suddenly being touted as leader of Iraq's next government.

Al-Mahdi is the Bush Administration's Trojan horse in the UIA. (You didn't think they were going to put all their money on Allawi, did you?) In October he told a gathering of the American Enterprise Institute that he planned to "restructure and privatize [Iraq's] state-owned enterprises," and in December he made another trip to Washington to unveil plans for a new oil law "very promising to the American investors." It was al-Mahdi himself who oversaw the signing of a flurry of deals with Shell, BP and ChevronTexaco in the weeks before the elections, and it is he who negotiated the recent austerity deal with the IMF. On troop withdrawal, al-Mahdi sounds nothing like his party's platform and instead appears to be channeling Dick Cheney on Fox News: "When the Americans go will depend on when our own forces are ready and on how the resistance responds after the elections." But on Sharia law, we are told, he is very close to the clerics.

Iraq's elections were delayed time and time again, while the occupation and resistance grew ever more deadly. Now it seems that two years of bloodshed, bribery and backroom arm-twisting were leading up to this: a deal in which the ayatollahs get control over the family, Texaco gets the oil, and Washington gets its enduring military bases (call it the "oil for women program"). Everyone wins except the voters, who risked their lives to cast their ballots for a very different set of policies.

But never mind that. January 30, we are told, was not about what Iraqis were voting for—it was about the fact of their voting and, more important, how their plucky courage made Americans feel about *their* war. Apparently, the elections' true purpose was to prove to Americans that, as George Bush put it,

*("Purple finger" cont. on page 10)*

# Caterpillar

*(Continued from page one)*

the illegal occupation. Due to "Operation Rainbow," Amnesty International released a new report on the Israeli practice of home demolition, which concluded that, "The grounds invoked by Israel to justify the destruction are overly broad and based on discriminatory policies and practices," adding, "According to Article 147 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, 'extensive destruction and appropriation of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly' is a grave breach, and hence, a war crime."

Grassroots actions have also increased. Last September, Jewish peace activists protested Caterpillar's safety record in the Middle East when they disrupted the Caterpillar-sponsored Safety Awards in Las Vegas, Nevada. They unrolled a banner with a photo of an armored D-9 bulldozer destroying homes that read, "What do Cat dozers make possible? Death and destruction for Palestinians and Israelis." In April the Palestine Solidarity Committee began its campaign requesting the City of Seattle to withdraw financial support from companies, including Caterpillar, who sell equipment to Israel's military occupation so that public funds are spent in support of human rights and well-being, not on occupation and war crimes. During last year's International Day of Action, 300 protesters gathered at Caterpillar's corporate headquarters in Peoria, Illinois, including Rachel's parents, Craig and Cindy Corrie. The campaign to stop sales of Caterpillar equipment to the Israeli military is supported by Human Rights Watch, the Presbyterian Church USA, the Sisters of Mercy, Churches for Peace in the Middle East, and over thirty other national organizations.

**On April 13th at 2:00pm, the Olympia Rafah Sister City Project in collaboration with other peace groups, plans to hold a rally at the headquarters for N.C. Machinery, the largest Caterpillar dealer in Washington.** The uses of Caterpillar machinery by the Israeli forces lie in direct contrast with the distributor's values as stated on its website: "We are uncompromising in our adherence to moral and ethical principles. We do what is right, even when it is not the easiest solution." In preparation for this action, we are asking organizations to sign on to a letter to the CEO at N.C. Machinery seeking a meeting with the management and including the following requests:

* Support the shareholder resolution brought forward by Jewish Voice for Peace, requesting that Caterpillar review whether the direct or indirect sale of its equipment to the Israeli army violates the corporation's own Code of Worldwide Business Conduct. Vote your personal shares of Caterpillar stock in favor of the resolution.

* Support the demand by Human Rights Watch that Caterpillar cease all sales to the Israeli military of the D9, D10, and D11 militarized bulldozers, as well as parts and maintenance services; and communicate your support for this demand to the Caterpillar Board of Directors.

*Issue a public statement of concern about the Israeli army's use of Caterpillar bulldozers to commit systematic human rights violations.

We are urging individual letters to N.C. Machinery and to Caterpillar Corporation, as well. E-mail addresses are available at www.progressiveportal.org.

This campaign is winnable. The Caterpillar Corporation earned thirty billion dollars in sales last year alone. The labor practices of this company are notorious, including strike breaking and union busting providing strong opportunities for cross issue solidarity. Sales to the Israeli military represent a very small part of Caterpillar's total business and, unlike military contractors, Caterpillar sells primarily to civilians making it a company vulnerable to public pressure.

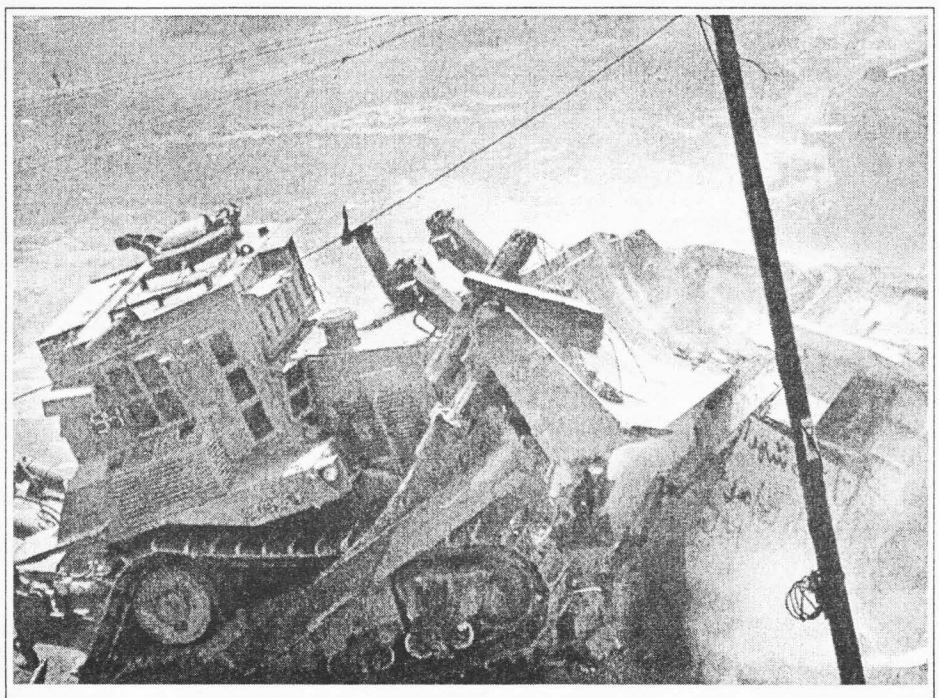
There are so many directions in which to direct our energies in these times. However, rarely does an opportunity present itself for action in solidarity with so many others and with a clearly definable goal. Palestine is central to global justice and peace in the Middle East. In order to be effective, we must acknowledge the crucial links and stand in solidarity with those suffering from the occupation of both Iraq and Palestine.

On April 13th and before let us come together and use our privilege to take a stand for those suffering tremendous human rights abuses, whether directly or indirectly, perpetrated by our own government while corporations, like Caterpillar, continue to profit. Rachel chose to and left us with these words from on the ground in Rafah:

*"Honestly, a lot of the time the sheer kindness of the people here, coupled with the overwhelming evidence of the willful destruction of their lives, makes it seem unreal to me. I really can't believe that something like this can happen in the world without a bigger outcry about it. It really hurts me, again, like it has hurt me in the past, to witness how awful we can allow the world to be."*

***In order to be effective, we must acknowledge the crucial links and stand in solidarity with those suffering from the occupation of both Iraq and Palestine. ... Let us come together and use our privilege to take a stand for those suffering tremendous human rights abuses.***

Confronting the assault



Armored D9R being used by the Israeli army to destroy a building.

If your organization is interested in signing on to the letter, or for more information on the upcoming action, check out the Olympia Rafah Sister City Project website at www.orscp.org or call 753-7093. Or, even better, ***join us at our next organizing meeting for the International Day of Action on Thursday, March 10th at 7:00pm at the Olympia Free School*** *next to the downtown post office. For more information on the issue, visit www.catdestroyshomes.org*

♣ ♣ ♣ ♣ ♣ ♣ ♣ ♣

**Dear Progressives and Friends,**

Right after the November election, a Peace Summit was held in downtown Olympia. About one hundred and fifty progressives came together to discuss how to move forward together toward our shared values of peace, justice, environmental integrity, and sustainability – among many other important issues we now face.

The Summit produced a committee to develop an organization that would meet the communication, networking, and support needs of the progressive community. Now, Thurston County Progressive Network (TC Pro-Net) is being born.

We send this letter to introduce TC Pro-Net and share our progress to date. Our mission statement, goals, objectives and some share values can be viewed on our website at www.tcpronet.org . Our website already has a functioning community calendar and have plans in the works for a moderated Community Forum, an Activist Toolbox, Mentor Services, a Speaker's Bureau, Material Resources and Skills Share Bulletin Boards and more.

As our membership increases we will set up a TC ProNet list serve for 'Action Alerts' and important announcements. We are already providing links to member organizations and businesses websites and are planning to put together a local (hard copy) directory of progressive organizations.

TC ProNet is YOUR support organization, so NOW is the time to contribute your ideas to the exciting visions that are emerging.

Please complete the Membership Form and Survey (PDF 64K) so that you can join, identify your needs, and ask for any additional activities or services you'd like TC Pro-Net to provide.

Also, we need your help. The Interim Coordinating Committee has put in many hours to create TC Pro-Net, but the network needs YOUR energy to do the real work of growing and maintaining the organization. Please send the forms to the TC Pro-Net address above.

Join us! Together, we can build and strengthen the progressive movement in Thurston County — and most importantly, create a world in which our children and their children may live in health and peace.

Sincerely,

The Interim Coordinating Committee: Christian Fromuth, Sherri Goulet, Chris Stegman, Cindy Corrie, Terry Zander, Nate Horter, Glen Anderson, Walt Jorgensen, Cheryl Crist, Stanley Stahl, Bill Nevue,

*For more information contact Chris at c.stegman@comcast.net or Sherri at shardon@comcast.net*

# Torture Nation

## by Tom Wright

*If you want a vision of the future, imagine a boot stamping on a human face -- forever.*

**George Orwell**

Nearly a year has passed since the lurid photographs of Abu Ghraib first surfaced, briefly capturing the attention of the nation. Even to a public saturated by every imaginable form of transgression, the bizarre images of "Hooded Man," the piles of naked bodies and sordid sexual domination stood out, whether because they seemed like demons lurching from the Puritan unconscious, or just because they were so baldly at variance with the fairy tales through which much of the nation had been sleepwalking since September 11. But in no time, the opinion managers mounted the ramparts. Medallioned four-star generals were duly paraded before Congressional committees, hat in hand. Sober-minded Establishment figures were dispatched to contain the damage, fronting the various committees of investigation of the appalling practices that had been unveiled. It was all the fault of a few low-ranking reservists, lasting only a few weeks, we were assured.

By now the official reports have all been completed, a number of important books have been published, and the release of a great number of internal documents has been compelled by the federal courts. We are an open society, for the time being at least, and the raw, unvarnished reality of the military's interrogation system is there for anyone to see.

That is both the good news and the bad news.

Good, because the fact of public exposure is ultimately the only real limitation to criminal violence by the state. And bad, if the public either chooses not to know about the crimes, or comes to accept them, and goes back to the Shopping Channel.

Now the public, it is true, has a lot on its plate these days, what with the SpongeBob controversy, and with JLo's new fashion line coming out, so perhaps a short overview is in order.

The first paving blocks on the road to Abu Ghraib were laid on November 13, 2001 with President Bush's declaration of a Military Order. This order, signaling the extent to which the Administration would feel encumbered by international law or by archaic constitutional notions like the separation of powers, authorized unlimited secret detention of any non-citizen (arrested either abroad or on U.S. soil) based only on the President's declaration of grounds for suspicion. "Trial" would be without the right to counsel, using secret evidence, and would be held by military tribunal, i.e., by agents under Bush's chain of command. Secret execution would be possible, and no right of appeal to civilian court would be recognized (see Secret Trials and Executions by Barbara Olshansky.)

As attorney David Cole argues in his book Enemy Aliens, such infringements of liberty are customarily first test-fitted on "aliens", then ultimately extended to citizens, as, for example, many elderly Japanese-Americans could explain. But in the present case, only five months passed before the order was extended to U.S. citizens, in the case of Yasser Hamdi. (One can only imagine what Bush might have done if he hadn't sworn to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution").

This bold assertion of what should be frankly called totalitarian powers was met with little opposition, or even much public awareness, and was promptly followed by a declaration in January 2002 that captured prisoners in Afghanistan and elsewhere were to be transferred to Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and classed as "unprivileged combatants". As David Cole explains, the wartime power to detain "enemy combatants' is well established, but the Geneva Conventions, he writes,

*"require that all combatants be treated presumptively as 'privileged', and held as 'prisoners of war.' The underlying rationale is that it is not illegal to fight a war, and therefore enemy soldiers are 'privileged combatants' and should not be tried for their combat actions.... Those who violate the laws of war—by, for example, targeting civilians, or failing to wear a uniform that distinguishes them from civilians—may be classified as 'unprivileged' combatants....Where there is any doubt about an individual's status...the Geneva Conventions require...a hearing before a 'competent tribunal' to determine the individual's status."*

Where this gets sticky is in Bush's declaration of war, not on any particular nation or its soldiers, in or out of uniform, but rather on the noun "Terror." Thus anyone on earth potentially becomes an "enemy combatant", and faces a possible life sentence without charge or trial, without recourse to the Geneva Convention's protections, which our new Attorney General has described as "quaint."

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Schlesinger, Taguba, and Fay/Jones investigations. He includes the affidavits of the Abu Ghraib prisoners, who describe the much-publicized cruelties imposed on them by Spc. Charles Graner and his crew. But he also provides context that usually gets ignored or downplayed. A big part of why people are willing to look the other way on torture is the assumption that the victims were trying to harm "our" troops. But Danner emphasizes that by the estimates of military intelligence officers themselves, between 70% and 90% of the thousands of people rounded up in Iraq are arrested *by mistake.* The prisons in Iraq are mostly full of ordinary people who did nothing.

Danner also includes the full February 2004 report from the International Committee of the Red Cross, detailing torture and abuse and given to the U.S. government, please note, well before the scandal broke. Danner notes that torture was employed even

*"under the gaze of Red Cross investigators, whose confidential reports...were handed over to American military and government authorities and then mysteriously "became lost in the Army's bureaucracy and weren't adequately addressed." Or so three of the highest-ranking military officers in the land blandly explained to senators of the Armed Services Committee on May 18, 2004. On that same day, as it happened, an unnamed "senior Army officer who served in Iraq" told reporters for The New York Times that in fact the Army had addressed the Red Cross report—* ***"by trying to curtail the international organization's spot inspections of the prison."*** (emphasis added)

The meaning of this is that military and civilian commanders were perfectly well aware of the use of torture, and had every intention of continuing its use. Just as they do today.

***By the estimates of military intelligence officers themselves, between 70% and 90% of the thousands of people rounded up in Iraq are arrested* by mistake. *The prisons in Iraq are mostly full of ordinary people who did nothing.***

For soldiers and military interrogators, the distinction between captured al-Qaeda operatives and the unlucky prisoner who happens to be in your prison cell at the moment is one that is quickly elided.

Human Rights Watch has detailed the sense of impunity among U.S. interrogators that began with the Afghan war. At least six detainees are known to have died in American custody there, although only two people have ever been charged in the killings, and the inquiries have stalled. In one of these cases, Jamal Naseer, a soldier in the U.S.-backed Afghan Army, was mistakenly arrested by U.S. forces, severely beaten, and killed in March 2003. The deaths of two Afghan men in 2002 were ruled homicides by American investigators. Internal Pentagon documents report the 2002 killing of another Afghani prisoner by four American soldiers, in which there was no prosecution.

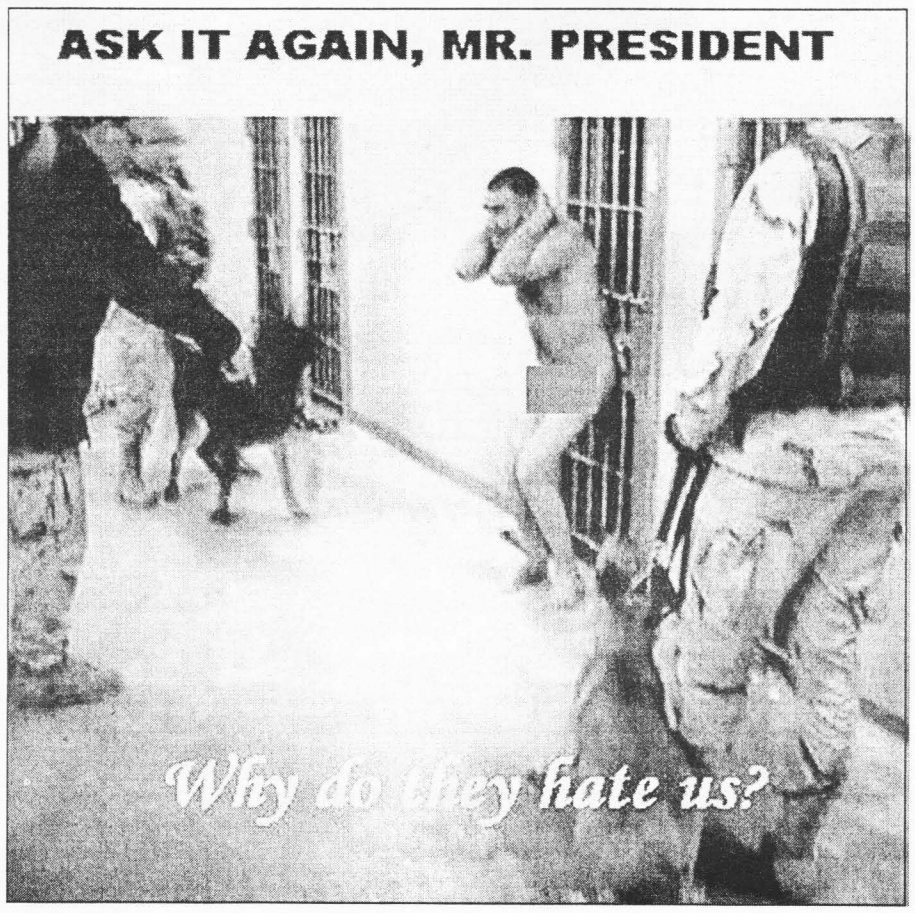
With the extension of war to Iraq, the scope of prisoner abuse had become endemic throughout the network of military prisons, and was descending to bizarre forms of cruelty and sadism. The best starting point for anyone who wants to explore this inspiring period of U.S. history is Mark Danner's new book, Torture and Truth. He includes 500 pages of documents at the core of the dispute: from the Alberto Gonzales and Jay Bybee memos on torture to the final reports of the

Danner's book went to print before the release in December (that is, after the election) of nearly 10,000 more pages of documents obtained under court order through a Freedom of Information Act request by the ACLU, the Center for Constitutional Rights, and others. In their totality, they are an astonishing revelation of war crime, from prisons in Cuba, Afghanistan and Iraq.

In one report, a Marine said he and two others were ordered to kill three Iraqis in early April 2003. He said he was threatened with death if he did not carry out the order, which they did then carry out, dumping the bodies of the dead Iraqis in a hole. In another report, an Army specialist shot to death an Iraqi prisoner who had been "verbally harassing guards" in August 2003. Although an investigation found probable cause to charge him with murder, he was instead demoted to private, and discharged.

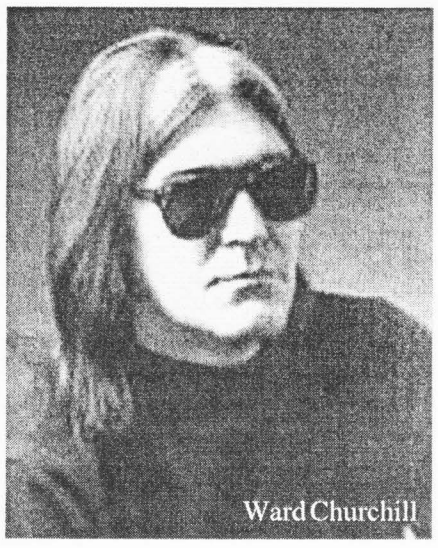
In addition to murder, a great many other atrocities are detailed. Prisoners are tortured with electric transformers. They are shackled in painful positions for days without food and water. Iraqi children are subjected to mock execution. One marine used a flame to severely burn a detainee's hands. Prisoners are

*("Torture Nation" continued on page 10)*



# Ward Churchill: Right to Speak out; Right About 9/11

**by Robert Jensen**




Ward Churchill has a right to speak about 9/11.

And Ward Churchill is right about 9/11.

I state that bluntly, even though I disagree with some aspects of the University of Colorado professor's now-infamous essay, because so many (including some on the left) have defended his First Amendment rights while either remaining silent about, or condemning, the article's analysis.

So, for the record: The main thesis Churchill put forward in "'Some People Push Back': On the Justice of Roosting Chickens" is an accurate account of the depravity of U.S. foreign policy and its relationship to terrorism. Later I'll return to my disagreements, but at a moment when right-wing forces have targeted not only Churchill but academic freedom and the left in general, it is more important than ever to stand firm on that point.

Malcolm X was correct, and it was appropriate for Churchill to quote him: Chickens do, indeed, come home to roost. And whether U.S. citizens want to acknowledge it or not, there likely will be chickens heading our way for years to come.

I take Churchill's central thesis to be that (1) U.S. crimes against peace, crimes against humanity, and war crimes around the world — from the genocidal campaigns against indigenous people on which this country was founded, through the post-World War II assaults (both by the U.S. military and through proxy forces) on the people of the Third World — are crimes, in legal and moral terms; (2) while contemporary non-state terrorism is a complex phenomenon, U.S. policies aimed at domination and control around the world are one of several key factors in spawning such terrorism; and (3) we must study that history and those connections if we want to prevent further crimes, whether committed by the United States or against U.S. citizens.

I also take a core assertion of Churchill's essay to be that we citizens of the U.S. empire bear some collective responsibility for those crimes, depending on our level of power and privilege, and our capacity for resistance. As Churchill explained recently, he includes himself in that category, not as a perpetrator but as a member of movements that have failed to stop the crimes (just as I would include myself). Further, those people at the top of the power pyramid must accept their responsibility for those crimes, even if they are not directly involved in the planning and execution of specific criminal acts. The technocrats "at the very heart of America's global financial empire" which U.S. policy serves, he wrote, are not innocent. (More later on how to understand the boundaries of that category.)

All of those claims are supported by evidence, law, and basic moral principles widely shared across philosophical and spiritual/religious traditions. Churchill is correct in refusing to retract those claims. Those of us who have sharply critiqued U.S. policy also should stand our ground.

It would be particularly cowardly if I tried to distance myself from Churchill and his ideas, given that I have made similar arguments in print and in public speaking over the past decade, especially since 9/11. I was the target of a much less intense vilification campaign on my own university campus immediately after 9/11, which blew over fairly quickly and never reached the level of the attack on Churchill. I am fortunate to remain employed at my university and engaged in the larger intellectual and political world.

I also owe a larger intellectual and political debt to Churchill. His books were influential on my thinking and were one gateway to my exploration of issues involving the U.S. attacks on indigenous people. It was by reading Churchill's work, particularly *A Little Matter of Genocide*, that I finally acknowledged the obvious: The European holocaust against indigenous people constitutes genocide and should lead us to confront the barbarism at the heart of the United States.

So, I don't hesitate to defend Churchill, his work, and the larger political movement of which he is a part. But I also want to articulate where I disagree with his analysis — not to distance myself from him but instead to demonstrate solidarity. Real colleagues do not ignore differences; they engage them. And at the same time, real political allies on the left keep their eyes on the game that right-wing forces play — divide-and-conquer strategies designed to scare people away from supporting principles of justice and each other.

So, to fellow leftists and scholars: This is the worst possible time to duck and cover. It's an especially important moment to step up in public and engage in open and honest dialogue, to defend our intellectual and political positions and our right to speak about them.

To right-wing forces: Feel free to take passages from this essay out of context to "prove" that I am anti-American, support terrorism, and use the classroom to indoctrinate helpless students in my demonic left-wing ideology designed to destroy our country. Of course you don't need my permission; you'll do it anyway, as you've done it to Churchill and many others.

To Ward Churchill: There are points in the essay that I think missed the mark, perhaps mostly out of a lack of sufficient time and space for detail in argument. I offer this critique not in condemnation but in support, in the hope that all of us working on these issues can refine our arguments.

First, let's go to the passage that has received the most attention, the labeling of the people described as a "technocratic corps at the very heart of America's global financial empire" as "little Eichmanns." Churchill has said that the passage clearly wasn't intended to include the janitors, food-service workers, children, rescue workers, or passers-by who were killed, and there's no reason to doubt him about that, even if the construction was ambiguous enough that many read it as a broader condemnation. But even accepting that narrow construction, the statement is still problematic. Are all the stock traders in the United States really equivalent to Adolph Eichmann? It's true that Eichmann was a technocrat who helped keep the Nazi machinery of death running, not the person pulling the trigger, so to speak. But Eichmann was a fairly high-level Gestapo bureaucrat, directly involved in the planning of that holocaust. Is it accurate to think of all stock traders — even if marked as "little" versions of Eichmann, implying a much lower scale — as being in an analogous position? Is there a difference between a run-of-the-mill stock broker who manages people's retirement funds and high-level traders who make deals that can change the value of a nation's currency and destroy people's lives?

Certainly many people in this society do jobs that are disconnected from real-world suffering caused by our economic and political system, and it is easy to lose sight of one's role in that system, and hence one's moral responsibility. Perhaps better than labeling them Eichmanns would be to talk about the degree of Eichmann-ness in various positions. Maybe stock traders aren't directly analogous to Eichmann, but simply have more to answer for morally than many others. Maybe a university professor who, by uncritically teaching the mythology of a benevolent U.S. empire, provides support for imperial crimes has more Eichmann-ness than a secretary at the Pentagon. All are, in some sense, part of the system, but all have different levels of privilege, power, and culpability. Some directly contribute to the maintenance of the system but are well below the level of responsibilities of an Eichmann. By using the comparison so loosely, the term loses meaning. Ironically, if so many people can be Eichmanns in some sense, then the actual Eichmanns in our system — the people in the military, government, and corporations in charge of the actual institutions of war and economic domination, the Pentagon planners and the bank officials who squeeze crippling debt payments out of Third World countries — are off the hook. Collective responsibility cannot mean all are responsible to exactly the same degree, as Churchill himself has articulated. His formulation in his essay forces us to think, and from there I think a more detailed discussion is necessary.

But whatever one's analysis of that Eichmann-ness quotient, there's still a sentence in Churchill's piece that troubles me: "If there was a better, more effective, or in fact any other way of visiting some penalty befitting their participation upon the little Eichmanns inhabiting the sterile sanctuary of the twin towers, I'd really be interested in hearing about it." It's hard to read that as anything other than an endorsement of the use of deadly force against all those involved in "the 'mighty engine of profit' to which the military dimension of U.S. policy has always been enslaved," apparently at the level of stock traders and above. Many

*("Churchill is right" cont. on next page)*

***Malcolm X was correct, and it was appropriate for Churchill to quote him: Chickens do, indeed, come home to roost. And whether U.S. citizens want to acknowledge it or not, there likely will be chickens heading our way for years to come.***

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# Churchill is right

*(Continued from page 8)*

have condemned Churchill for this and suggested this comment was obviously crazy. I do not think it's that simple. If an economic and political system callously destroys human life around the world — as corporate capitalism and fanatical U.S. nationalism do — in a fashion not always visible to many in the system, what will change that morally unacceptable state of affairs? Is violence justified in the face of such a system? If so, what kind of violence can actually bring a more just world?

I am not a pacifist; I believe there are times and places in which the use of violence to prevent a greater violence or end deeply rooted oppression is morally justified. Certainly many of the revolutionary movements that struggled against colonialism met that test. The decisions one makes in such situations are neither simple nor easy.

But I think it is clear that the attacks of 9/11 don't meet the test. Can anyone imagine a scenario in which such attacks have a reasonable chance of leading to real justice in the world? I cannot, which is why I continue to hope that a predominantly non-violent (though not necessarily pacifist) global movement can restrain the empire and eventually be a vehicle for real peace and real justice. Certainly the massive worldwide protests on Feb. 15, 2003, against the United States' planned attack on Iraq indicated the potential, even if that movement failed to stop that particular war at that moment. Can the global justice movement that had begun to challenge corporate domination of the planet and the anti-empire/anti-war movement focused on U.S. military power come together to create new possibilities? I don't know enough to know the answer, but I can continue to try to be part of such a movement when there is no other viable option on the horizon.

A related issue that requires careful analysis is the relationship between the crimes of the United States and the motivations of the people who planned and executed the attacks on 9/11. The policies of the U.S. government in the Arab and Muslim world — not just those of the ideologically fanatical Bush administration, but consistently across Republican and Democratic administrations — have created justified resentment of the United States. Among those policies are unconditional U.S. support for Israel's illegal and brutal occupation of Palestinian land, the ongoing presence of U.S. troops in the Middle East and U.S. support for repressive regimes throughout the region, and (before the illegal U.S. invasion in 2003) the imposition of harsh economic sanctions on Iraq that killed hundreds of thousands.

Osama bin Laden and others in networks like al-Qaeda criticize those policies, but that does not mean they are the voice of the dispossessed or constitute a national liberation movement. Their own political program is grotesque, not just by the standards of a secular leftist in the United States, but by the standards of progressive movements around the world. While they attack U.S. targets because they want to end U.S. domination of the Muslim world — a reasonable goal — they don't seek the justice denied to them by the United States. They seek to impose a different kind of authority and control.

***For the vast majority of the populace of the Islamic world, justified anger at U.S. foreign policy has not translated to support for al-Qaeda's aims and methods, but the shared anger at U.S. domination provides these terror networks their only cover.***

But people such as bin Laden can draw on the deep reservoirs of legitimate resentment created by U.S. policy, especially when so many other politicians in the region are unwilling to challenge the United States. For the vast majority of the populace of the Islamic world, that justified anger at U.S. foreign policy has not translated to support for al-Qaeda's aims and methods, but the shared anger at U.S. domination provides these terror networks their only cover.

So, I agree completely with Churchill's assessment that "America's indiscriminately lethal arrogance and psychotic sense of self-entitlement have long since given the great majority of the world's peoples ample cause to be at war with it," but I want to highlight the regressive characteristics of some of the political programs of people who go to war with it. As the title of Churchill's essay reminds us, "some people push back." But some of those people pushing back aren't pushing for justice. His labeling of the events of 9/11 as "counterattacks" is true in a descriptive sense, but not in a moral one.

Finally, I would suggest that Churchill's declaration that he's "not backing up an inch" misses an opportunity. He has said in an interview that he has "an abiding sorrow" for the victims, and I believe him. But if the way in which some of the loved ones of those innocent victims read his words left them feeling hurt, why not reach out to them? Here's one possible response:

***When Churchill sees injustice in the world, he does not react as a cold, dispassionate scholar hidden away in a protected office but as a human being outraged by the injustice who wants it to end.... None of us should let go of that anger just because others are scared of it.***

"I told the truth about U.S. history and policy, and I will not apologize for that. I told the truth about the way in which many Americans avoid responsibility for the crimes of their own government, and I will not apologize for that. I do not owe Bill O'Reilly or the CU Board of Regents or the general public an apology. But to those still grieving their losses of 9/11, I offer solidarity, compassion, and my regret for any deepening of that hurt that my words caused.

"Please accept that, but also accept my challenge. It is the challenge posed by many people of faith, internationalists, and radicals throughout time: The challenge to see all human life as equally valuable. The challenge to act in a world in which innocent people routinely die because of U.S. economic and military policy. A world in which military planners talk casually of "collateral damage" and political leaders decide how many civilians will be incinerated by U.S. bombs in a war to enhance their power. A world in which half the people on the planet live on less than $2 a day. A world in which 11 million children under the age of 5 die each year — that's 30,000 a day, 10 times the death toll on 9/11 — most from a lack of simple medicines, clean water, and adequate nutrition. A world in which health experts estimate that 6 million of those children could be saved by low-tech interventions costing about $7.5 billion, less than 2 percent of the annual Pentagon budget.

"Someone you love was a victim of terrorism, but we should not construct the United States as a victim. Please consider the example set by members of September Eleventh Families for Peaceful Tomorrows, who lost loved ones on 9/11 but rejected the use of that tragedy as a pretext for further U.S. wars of aggression in Afghanistan and Iraq. Please join the movement to end the insanity of U.S. aggression and the violence that it spawns."

Let me be clear: By suggesting such a response, I am not asking Churchill to back down. Nor am I suggesting he should let go of his anger, an aspect of his intellectual and political profile that I have long admired. When Churchill sees injustice in the world, he does not react as a cold, dispassionate scholar hidden away in a protected office but as a human being outraged by the injustice who wants it to end. There are too few scholars like Churchill, who dedicate their work and lives to ending the suffering that injustice brings. His 9/11 essay conveys that anger, and whatever the differences in interpretation I've outlined here, I cannot disagree with, nor discount, his anger. I remember feeling a similar anger that day, mixed with the shock and sadness. And the more I learn about the world, the more I feel it. None of us should let go of that anger just because others are scared of it.

For me, left politics — resistance to unjust impositions of authority and the struggle for a sustainable world that balances a deep yearning for individual freedom and a deep sense of responsibility for each other — is fueled by anger at the world as it exists, along with a love for people and an appreciation for the beauty of the non-human world. That righteous anger is powerful, as long as it does not slip into self-righteousness and stays in balance with that love. We can be glib about that struggle, but in reality the tension — inside of each of us and inside our movements — is not always easy to cope with. I wrestle with it every day.

Dorothy Day of the Catholic Worker Movement was fond of quoting a line from Dostoevsky's The Brothers Karamazov: "Love in action is a harsh and dreadful thing compared with love in dreams." In the essay he wrote on 9/11, I believe Churchill was facing those harsh and dreadful realities, and I believe that essay was his attempt on that day to take love out of the realm of dreams and make it real in the world, in action.

In that action, Churchill is angry. He is harsh. And in the central themes of the 9/11 essay and his life's work, Ward Churchill is right.

*Robert Jensen — a journalism professor at the University of Texas at Austin and board member of the Third Coast Activist Resource Center (http://thirdcoastactivist.org/) — is the author of "Citizens of the Empire: The Struggle to Claim Our Humanity" and "Writing Dissent: Taking Radical Ideas from the Margins to the Mainstream." Other work is available at http://www.nowarcollective.com/.*

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# Torture Nation

*(Continued from page 7)*

"water-boarded"—strapped to a board and submerged until they believe they will drown. Doctors are employed to tailor a prisoner's torture to specific medical conditions.

One of the surprises in the huge document release was that agents from the CIA and the Defense Intelligence Agency and especially the FBI had been complaining about the prisoner abuse, beginning in 2002 and continuing through 2004. "You won't believe it!" wrote one FBI agent to a colleague. Agents assigned to Guantanamo complained of "strangulation, beatings, placement of lit cigarettes into the detainees' ear openings and unauthorized interrogations." One FBI official complained "I saw a detainee sitting on the floor of the interview room with an Israeli flag draped around him, loud music being played and a strobe flashing." Another reported soldiers were "beating (a prisoner) and grabbed his head and beat it into the cell floor" until he was unconscious. Another one wrote in July 2004 "on a couple of occasions, I entered interview rooms to find a detainee chained hand and foot in a fetal position to the floor, with no chair, food or water. Most times they had urinated or defecated on themselves, and had been left for 18-24 hours or more." "On another occasion, the A/C had been turned off, making the temperature in the unventilated room probably well over 100 degrees. The detainee was almost unconscious on the floor, with a pile of hair next to him. He had apparently been literally pulling his own hair out throughout the night."

These are complaints coming from multiple government agencies, spanning a 3 year period, in some cases going so far as to urge war crimes prosecutions. As the New York Times pointed out, these documents make clear that "such activities were known to a wide circle of government officials." But White House spokesman Scott McClellan could say only that "we're becoming aware of more information as it becomes public, as you are." The Pentagon, he assured us, takes any abuse allegations "very seriously."

This is nonsense. Of 137 people who have faced disciplinary action, only 14 have been convicted by courts-martial. 46 faced only demotion or fines. A Marine that performed torture with electricity was sentenced to one year's confinement, and the mock execution of children earned only 30 days' hard labor. Even in the Abu Ghraib scandal, while one investigation named the two top officers at the prison and 34 military intelligence soldiers, only three faced punishment, and the two officers weren't charged.

Apparently none of this was really torture. Now, the 1987 Convention Against Torture bars the U.S. government from "any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession..." But thanks to Bush's top law enforcement officer, we now understand that pain is actually not "severe" unless it is "of an intensity akin to that which accompanies serious physical injury such as death or organ failure."

Sure, Gonzales had to publicly repudiate this language at his confirmation hearing, but no one at all believed it. Michael Chertoff will take over "Homeland Security" even though he abetted the torture of a U.S. citizen, John Walker Lindh. Jay Bybee, the Torture Memo author, has been nominated to the liberal Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals (new motto: "Give me organ failure, or give me death!")

Welcome to the Torture State.

***Of course, the U.S. government has supported, financed and directed torture for a long time. It has propped up torture states in Iran, Iraq, Israel and Indonesia, and that's just the I's. But it used to have to keep it at arm's length, to keep the U.S. public in the dark. What's new is that it has become normalized.***

Of course, the U.S. government has supported, financed and directed torture for a long time. It has propped up torture states in Iran, Iraq, Israel and Indonesia, and that's just the I's. But it used to have to keep it at arm's length, to keep the U.S. public in the dark. What's new is that it has become normalized.

And there's no retreat here to the comfy feeling that all will be fine again when we get the Dems back in power. John Kerry and his party are guilty too. As Naomi Klein said, Kerry gave Bush the gift of impunity. If it had mattered to the Democrats, they could have run a campaign that impeded the apparatus of torture and the growing violence and lawlessness of the American state. But that was not as important as their desire to "win," so they kept silent about the atrocities, and vowed an expansion of the war. As H.L. Mencken once observed, "the saddest life is that of a political aspirant under democracy. His failure is ignominious and his success is disgraceful."

Meanwhile, we live under one-party domination with an enfeebled "opposition" party trying to appeal to the snake-handling and clinic-burning crowd before the next election. And the U.S. military is in Iraq, not to spread the virtues of punch-card voting or high-fructose corn syrup, but to dominate the planet's central energy supplies. This it will do by any means necessary, employing torture, leveling more Fallujahs, or whichever atrocities people will accept back in the "homeland."

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In the coming years, world resources such as oil, natural gas and fresh water will decline amidst over-consumption and environmental despoliation. As competition for these resources intensifies, the technological means of surveillance, control and physical domination will increase in sophistication, and will be employed by those sectors of society able to use them. These changes we accept by degrees. And we have just passed through one of them. We can only hope that there will be a corresponding evolution along a moral dimension in the complex world we are bequeathing to our children.

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# Purple finger

*(Continued from page 5)*

"the Iraqi people value their own liberty." Stunningly, this appears to come as news. Chicago *Sun-Times* columnist Mark Brown said the vote was "the first clear sign that freedom really may mean something to the Iraqi people." On *The Daily Show*, CNN's Anderson Cooper described it as "the first time we've sort of had a gauge of whether or not they're willing to sort of step forward and do stuff."

This is some tough crowd. The Shiite uprising against Saddam in 1991 was clearly not enough to convince them that Iraqis were willing to "do stuff" to be free. Nor was the demonstration of 100,000 people held one year ago demanding immediate elections, or the spontaneous local elections organized by Iraqis in the early months of the occupation—both summarily shot down by Bremer. It turns out that on American TV, the entire occupation has been one long episode of *Fear Factor*, in which Iraqis overcome ever-more-challenging obstacles to demonstrate the depths of their desire to win their country back. Having their cities leveled, being tortured in Abu Ghraib, getting shot at checkpoints, having their journalists censored and their water and electricity cut off—all of it was just a prelude to the ultimate endurance test: dodging bombs and bullets to get to the polling station. At last, Americans were persuaded that Iraqis really, really want to be free.

So what's the prize? An end to occupation, as the voters demanded? Don't be silly—the US government won't submit to any "artificial timetable." Jobs for everyone, as the UIA promised? You can't vote for socialist nonsense like that. No, they get Geraldo Rivera's tears ("I felt like such a sap"), Laura Bush's motherly pride ("It was so moving for the President and me to watch people come out with purple fingers") and Betsy Hart's sincere apology for ever doubting them ("Wow—do I stand corrected").

And that should be enough. Because if it weren't for the invasion, Iraqis would not even have the freedom to vote for their liberation, and then to have that vote completely ignored. And that's the real prize: the freedom to be occupied. Wow—do I stand corrected.

*Naomi Klein is the author of* No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies *(Picador) and, most recently,* Fences and Windows: Dispatches From the Front Lines of the Globalization Debate *(Picador).* © 2005 The Nation

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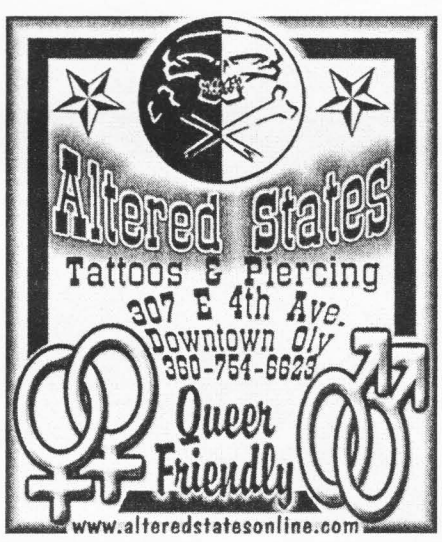


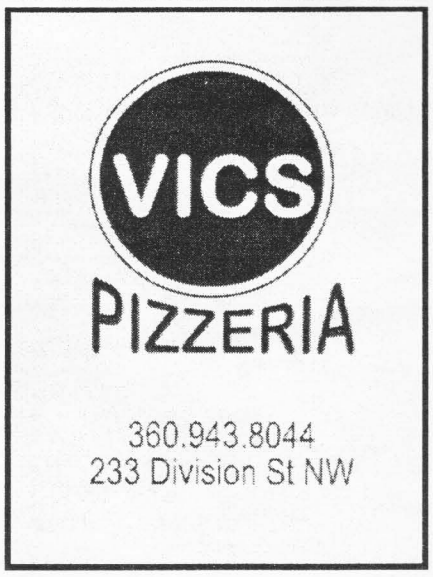

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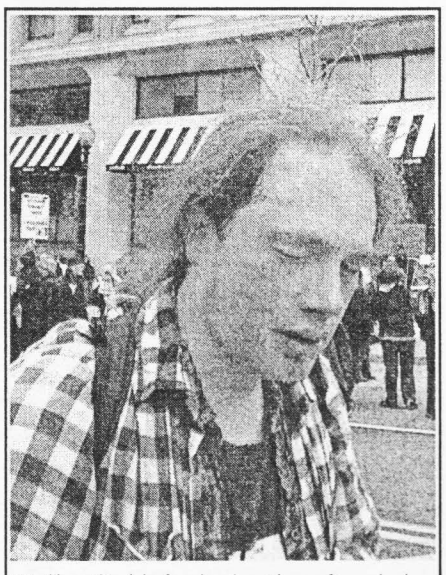
## *Lessons on Community, Security and Privilege*

# Protesting the Inauguration in Washington D.C.

**by Wally Cuddeford**



Wally Cuddeford shortly after being peppersprayed at the inauguration protests.

I admit, I first got the idea while watching *Fahrenheit 911*. I watched the video from GW's first inauguration and I thought "Why wasn't *I* there? *That* was where I needed to be!" I decided to book a flight to Washington D.C. for the week of January 20, 2005.

I had heard of local groups going there, but I decided to go alone. While many people told me not going with a group would be a mistake, in retrospect, it was the best decision I could have made.

There were several rallies in town that day. I attended the one at Malcolm X Park. Medea Benjamin spoke there, as did Father Gerard Jean-Juste, David Cobb, David Rovics, Aidan Delgado, and many others. We folded up cardboard coffins to take on the march toward the inaugural route.

We were a couple thousand strong at least. I had a lot of fun leading chants I knew, and learning ones I didn't by letting others use my megaphone. The march was excellent and peaceful; I saw no coverage of it on mainstream TV.

We arrived at a park near the parade route. There was a festival like atmosphere of protest. People had elaborate costumes and signs. There were radical cheerleaders, and people were supplying free soup.

From there, I followed some people toward the parade route. I was not allowed in the "Red Zone" because I had a backpack with me. I asked the guard, jokingly, if I could bring my megaphone in. He reluctantly told me there was no rule against it.

I stayed just outside the perimeter barricade with many others. Some people on top of a bus stop were burning American flags (I respect one's right to do that, but I think it's alienating and self-serving). That started a big commotion. Once that had run its course, people in the crowd started saying that somebody discreetly dismantled part of the barricade. We wanted to take it down and rush the opening.

I used my megaphone to encourage everyone to come as far forward as possible. One panel of the barricade came down. The police tried to put it back up. I was pushed right up against it. I didn't want them to put it back up, so I stuck my arm out, obstructing them from reassembling it. They violently unleashed their batons on my arm. Normally, I guess you're supposed to withdraw your arm when they do that, but I'm defiant. I kept it out there for a little while longer.

At the time, I was disappointed. I was obstructing the reassembly of the barricade in the hope that people would take the opportunity to rush it, but they didn't. They stepped back and watched, to some degree in horror, as I allowed myself to be beaten up so badly. I realized later how I couldn't have asked for anything better. One barricade panel is insignificant (*especially* when the police can rely on the excuse of "defending the President"). What I really should have been hoping for was that the *whole world* would step back and watch in horror as I got assaulted by police, my only crime being one of non-violent obstruction.

***I had my white male privilege revoked for a day, and only partially at that. I recognize that being a white male from a relatively privileged background skewed my experience. To me, jail was a strangely liberating experience.***

An Anarchist medic looked at my arm and said I had no broken bones. She bandaged me up, gave me a Clif Bar, and asked that I leave, because of my injury and because the police learned I'm a rebel-rouser. I said I'd stay a little while longer. I hadn't come all that way to miss everything.

When I returned to the crowd, two more barricade panels came down over to the right. Nobody ever crossed the barricade line, but the police started shooting pepper spray anyway. I tried withstanding it while screaming into my megaphone, but it got into my eyes. The same medic helped me again and suggested I leave for the day; I did.

Two people from the crowd helped me out because I was completely blinded. While I was stumbling away, drained, blind as a bat, trying to regurgitate the pepper spray I ingested, I was interviewed by a representative from Gannett News.

As I was telling curious people about what happened to my arm, I readily admitted that I stuck my arm out in obstruction, saying that I was going to tell the whole truth. Somebody pointed out that another part of the whole truth was the police would not have stopped assaulting me. As he put it, they would have taken a chainsaw to my arm, because getting it out of the way was their only consideration.

I was taken back up to the park where the march had ended. People I didn't even know bought bottled water just for me and offered rags doused in all kinds of concoctions that are supposed to neutralize the sting of pepper spray (vinegar mixed with cider worked well). I got so much help from people. It was the first time I ever remember truly feeling the help of a whole community of people.

I watched coverage on television that night. All CNN showed of the protests was a three second clip of a fight. They said "There was one minor scuffle between protesters and police." Since I personally was in *two*, I knew that was a lie. That's akin to "Three out of four dentists prefer (…)."

I was arrested at 11:30pm that night. Because of possible legal action, I don't wish to discuss the details of the arrest *at this time*. For now, I will say this: In my assessment, the arrest was completely unjustified. While in police custody, they repeatedly claimed they didn't have any ice packs for my prior arm injury. They also refused to let me speak to a lawyer before deciding whether to pay a fine or contest the charge. It was my first time being arrested.

I chose to pay the $50 fine, because it was not an admission of guilt, and because I could not stay long enough to contest the charge. I did not have enough money on me to pay it. I was about to make arrangements to pay it at a later time when my public defender announced someone had agreed to pay it for me. Present in the courtroom was someone from the J20 law collective. They were there to support all the protesters who were arrested. They forwarded me the $50 and arranged a ride to pick up my possessions before the office closed. If they had not done that, I would've had to stay through Monday and extend my accommodations. That was the second time I ever felt a community of people had come to my rescue.

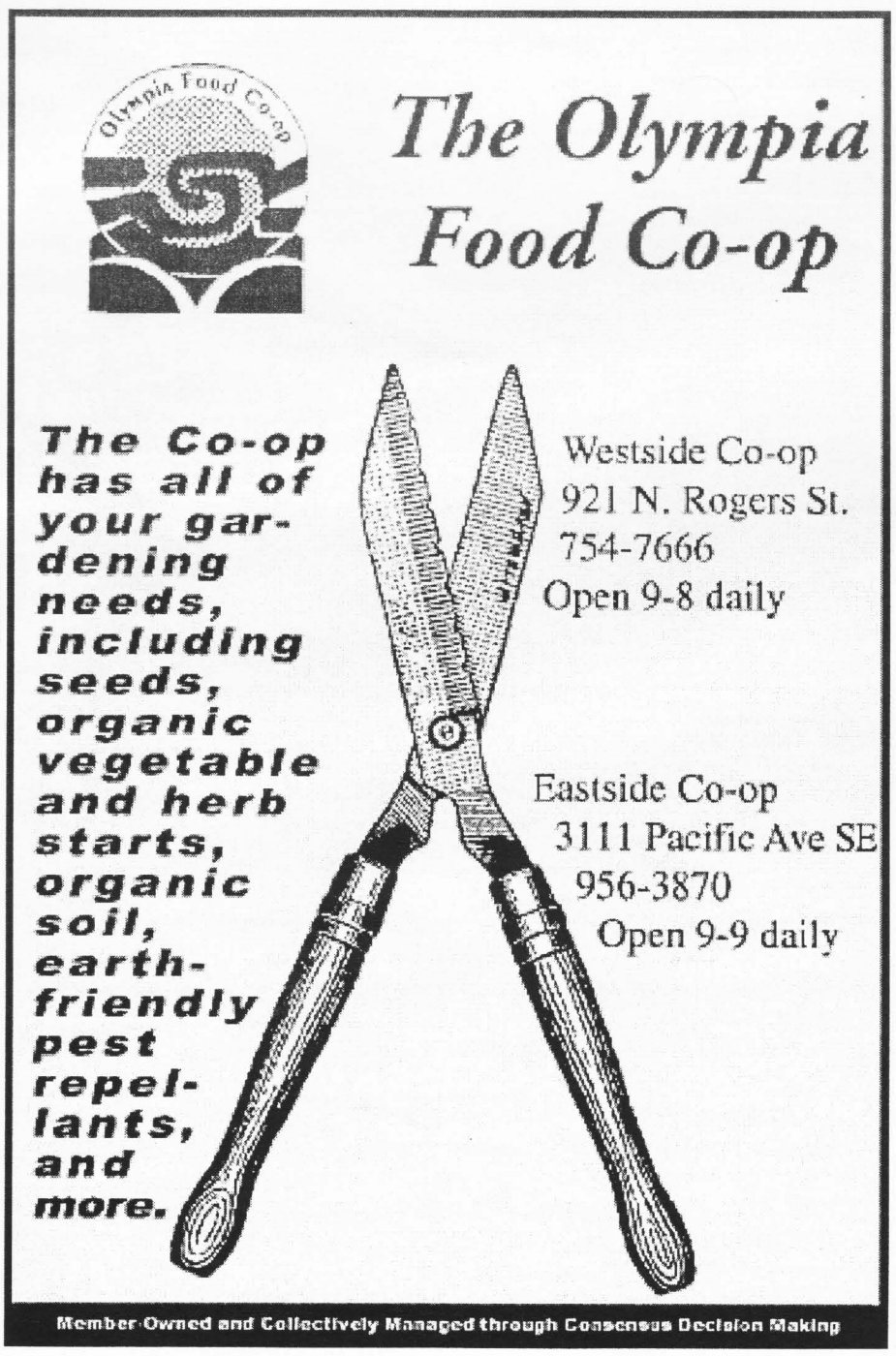
This was a profound learning experience for me. I had my white male privilege revoked for a day, and only partially at that. I recognize that being a white male from a relatively privileged background skewed my experience. To me, jail was a strangely liberating experience. To many in this country, it is a cold, unfair reality.

Privilege warps peoples' minds. Whether it's wealth privilege, race privilege, gender, gender-identity, sexual orientation, age, leadership privilege or never-had-to-actually-*fight*-in-a-war privilege, it distorts one's view of the world. Privilege fosters truly half-baked ideas and the reduction of the real suffering of real people to a theory (or worse yet, to simply inconsequential status) in the minds of the privileged.

Every time I explain what I learned, it sounds so obvious. I think "Of course privilege warps peoples' minds. That's not an insight." It is, at least in the sense that I've never heard it said so frankly. Perhaps it's something that simply needs to be experienced.

I was explaining this to a friend who has never seemed particularly political before. He agreed, but asked me "If privilege warps peoples' minds, why do we allow leaders, who by definition enjoy leadership privilege (if not other privileges), to make all our decisions?"

I learned so much there and I'm still learning a lot upon reflection. I also had the most fun I'd ever had in my life. All this for only $250 for the plane ticket and $100 for lodging. People ask me how I flew so cheap. I tell them I bought my tickets early, even before the election.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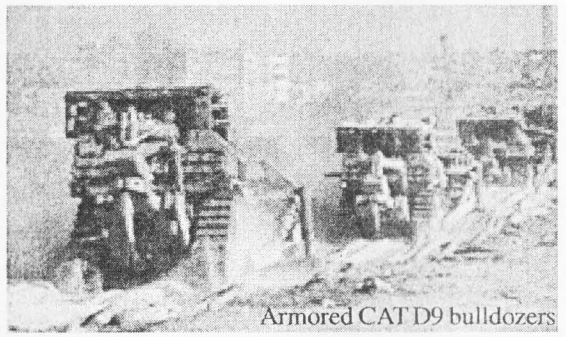
# WORKS IN PROGRESS

## April 13: International Day of Action Against Caterpillar



Armored CAT D9 bulldozers

***"This has to stop. I think it's a good idea for us all to drop everything and devote our lives to making this stop. I don't think it's an extremist thing to do anymore."***

**Rachel Corrie**

Rachel Corrie with the Nasrallah family, whose home in Rafah she died defending.

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